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Fig. 1. Rooms excavated in the east side of Tell el-Kheleifeh, looking southwest.

Both teaching and field-work have had to be suspended for the time at our Schools in the Near East. Dr. Robert M. Engberg, formerly of the University of Chicago and now director of the School in Jerusalem, will remain for the present in New Haven; Dr. Clarence S. Fisher, our distinguished professor of archaeology in both Schools, will stay in Jerusalem in the capacity of acting director. The present number of the BULLETIN demonstrates the fact that the work of the Schools is more promising than ever and justifies us in looking forward to the day in which we can resume our productive work in the Near East. In this number Professor Nelson Glueck of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, long director of our School in Jerusalem, describes the important results of the third campaign at King

Solomon's seaport on the Red Sea; Dr. Samuel N. Kramer, formerly fellow at the Baghdad School, describes a new Sumerian religious text of epoch-making value to historians of religion; Professor C. C. Torrey of Yale, the first director of the School in Jerusalem and long chairman of our Managing Committee, describes a remarkable unpublished Hebrew seal, from the collection of one of our trustees. In this number of the BULLETIN we have the first publication of two Hebrew seals bearing the names of kings of Judah hitherto not represented by Palestinian monuments: Jotham and his son Ahaz, the contemporaries of Isaiah.

In the terrible time through which the world is passing the members and friends of the Schools can do no better than to hold the torch aloft as steadfastly as possible. After the end of the present war Europe will probably not be able to carry on the scholarly and scientific traditions of the West for some time, if at all. If the unity and the autonomy of learning are to be kept alive, the task will fall in large part to American scholarship. We dare not, therefore, allow any branch of creative investigation to languish. Ours is not only the privilege of continuing work which we love and which we know to be significant, but also the duty of keeping the spark of vital flame in our field from flickering and expiring.

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THE THIRD SEASON OF EXCAVATION AT TELL EL-KHELEIFEH

NELSON GLUECK

The third season's campaign of excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh [1] extended from March 5 to May 15, 1940. It was conducted under the direction of the writer on behalf of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Additional funds

[1] BULLETIN 71, pp. 3-18; 72, pp. 2-13; 75, pp. 8-22.

were obtained from the Felix M. Warburg Fund of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Among the other members of the staff were Dr. and Mrs. Harold Glidden, Mr. J. Pinkerfeld, and Dr. Albert K. Henschel. All the excavation photographs were taken by Dr. Glidden. Through the courtesy of the Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities, the object photographs were made by Mr. S. J. Schweig. Particular thanks are due to Mr. A. S. Kirkbride, British Resident, Transjordan, to Major J. B. Glubb, Officer Commanding the Arab Legion, Transjordan, and to Mr. Lankester Harding, Chief Curator, Transjordan Department of Antiquities, for the great help they rendered to our expedition.

The results of the season's work emphasized again that the intricate smelter-refinery of Ezion-geber: Elath was from the very beginning till near the end of the history of the place considered to be its most important structure. It underwent numerous changes in the course of time. The system of flues and air-channels in the walls was abandoned after they had become filled with sand and soot. The flue-holes were plastered over, and the smelting process reverted to the use of hand-bellows. In this wise, the great industrial plant continued to function for a number of centuries longer. The tremendous heat in the furnace rooms of the smelter, transformed the sun-dried bricks used in its construction into the equivalent of kiln-baked bricks. The copper sulphide fumes of the copper ores being reduced in the smelter turned its walls green; where the fumes did not come in direct contact with the walls, the heat turned them brown and red. Centuries of experience had produced a brick measuring 40 by 20 by 10 centimeters, with which an excellent wall two and a half bricks thick could be produced, of enduring strength. Some of the walls of the smelter have stood almost to their original height for nearly thirty centuries.

When finally heat cracked the walls of the smelter in places, and repairs and reenforcements were necessary, a means of strengthening them was employed, which had hitherto been applied only to fortresses. A sloping retaining wall in all respects similar to a fortification glaçis, was discovered during the third season of work, built against each side of the smelter. It was almost half again as wide at the bottom as the smelter walls themselves. Each row of bricks in this supporting ramp was set about two centimeters back of the preceding row, so that by the time the top of the inward slope of the glaçis reached the top of the smelter wall, only the width of the smelter wall remained. The outer, very steep slope of this glaçis was then covered with a thick facing of strong mud-mortar, which effectively hid all the irregularities of the tiny steps of its successively graduated rows of bricks, and presented a surface so smooth as not to afford a toe-hold to any one desirous of ascending it. Although the glaçis around the smelter can in no wise be distinguished from a fortification glaçis, it was intended not so much to keep out an enemy as to bolster up the walls of the smelter.

The strength of this smelter glaçis was, furthermore, enhanced by the fact that while its outer face sloped inward as it went upward, the rows of bricks in it sloped downward somewhat toward the face of each of the walls against which the glaçis was built. In addition, the builders of this glaçis (and others like it in a later period at Tell el-Kheleifeh), employed a principle of tying the bricks to each other that was commonly used, for in-

stance, in the Renaissance Period in Europe, particularly for fortress construction. The bricks were laid in complex, diagonal cross-patterns. It is the strongest form of brick bonding known to man, and must already have been old when used by the brick-masons of Ezion-geber. By ascertaining the degree of the angle of the slope of the glaçis around the smelter, both the height of the glaçis and the original height of the walls against which it was built could be obtained. Allowing for the upward extension of the walls of the smelter above the top of the glaçis, it is possible to say that the smelter walls were about twelve feet high. There was no roof over the smelter.

The smelter-refinery was literally the center of the first Ezion-geber, or Ezion-geber I, as we shall call it. Some distance removed from it, and around it, was built a square of foundry and factory rooms. This industrial square was only one room thick. The rooms were formed by thin partition walls between the spaced, parallel inner and outer walls. There seems to have been an entrance guarded by a strong square tower on the southwest side. The plan of the smelter, together with the industrial square, may be likened somewhat to that of a strong stockade wall, with a row of houses one room thick built against the inside of the walls of the stockade square, and with an isolated, commanding building in the center of the square. There is, furthermore, some reason for believing that considerably beyond the industrial square, whose outer wall is strengthened like a fortress wall with regular offsets, there was also in the very first period an outer, complex fortification system, consisting of two separate walls, with a glaçis built against each of them, and a dry moat between the two walls. All traces of it have disappeared because of a later fortification system much like it, which completely displaced it.

Both the smelter and parts of the industrial square were used and reused in later periods. Indeed, one of the main difficulties of the excavations consisted in just this fact,—that wherever a later age found a good wall of a previous one, it frequently built other walls against it to form a new room. The employment of a straight stratigraphic method of excavation at Tell el-Kheleifeh, however desirable it may be generally, would have produced dire results. The problems of unravelling the puzzles of walls there, built against each other, yet frequently belonging to totally different periods, were baffling at first appearance, but usually could be solved. The frequent use of different types of bricks and different methods of bricklaying in different periods helped to distinguish one period from another. In certain parts of Tell el-Kheleifeh, walls of successive periods were built on respectively higher levels.

The idea previously expressed as a result of the first two seasons of excavations, and based also partly on literary evidence, that the smelter and foundries and factories at Ezion-geber: Elath were manned by slave labor, was further supported as a result of the finds and experiences of the work of the third season. The fumes and smoke from the smelter-refinery alone, coupled with the severity of the natural conditions, would have made life there intolerable to the free born, and impossible for slaves. The welfare of the latter, however, would hardly have been taken into consideration. The rate of mortality among the slaves must have been terrific. This was the longest of the three seasons of excavations, lasting for two and a half months. At its close, the members of the staff were near the point of physical

exhaustion. At one time, for instance, for ten days on end, there were uninterrupted sandstorms of such severity over Tell el-Kheleifeh that often one could not see more than about twenty-five feet away. A considerable portion of the rooms on the north side of the mound, which had been excavated during the first two campaigns, was found to have been filled with sand at the commencement of the third season. Particularly during the first two main periods of occupation of Ezion-geber, when industrial operations were carried out more intensively than in any of the subsequent periods, at least the free population must be thought of as residing farther to the east, nearer the modern village of 'Aqabah, where there is more protection from the winds and the sands in the lee of the hills and where the drinking water is almost completely non-brackish. The permanent population of Ezion-geber: Elath was never large, numbering probably not more than two or three hundred. During the essentially seasonal industrial activity there, the population figures must have increased considerably with the importation of slave labor. While the officers and merchants may have tented some distance away from the furnaces and foundries, the slaves, however, upon whom the main burden of the work fell, were probably confined inside the walled area. With them must have been a changing guard of a certain number of soldiers to control them and guard the site. As has already been seen from previous reports, in addition to being the "Pittsburgh of Palestine," Ezion-geber: Elath was also a strong fortress, guarding the crossroads by land and sea between Arabia and Sinai and greater Palestine. The new fortress at 'Aqabah, recently completed by the Transjordan government, although much smaller, serves in a limited way the same purpose.

The Egyptian king Shoshenk, or Shishak, as he is known in the Bible, was in all probability the one who destroyed the Ezion-geber of Solomon.[2] He seems to have been content to gain control of the site, perhaps after breaking down its outer defences. The smelter-refinery and the industrial square of rooms beyond it, remained more or less intact. Indeed, the Egyptian attack may have been intended, like the successful conquest of Megiddo (Armageddon) by the same invader, not merely to reduce an enemy stronghold, but primarily in this instance to gain possession of the important industrial plant so strategically situated on the north shore of the Red Sea. His control of the place was short-lived. Thereafter, the possession of it revolved between the Judaeans and the Edomites.

Sometime after the reoccupation of Ezion-geber by the Judaeans, after it had been seized by Shishak near the end of the tenth century B. C., it was extensively rebuilt. A new series of fortification walls was put up, partly on the lines of the former ones, and partly on entirely different lines. The smelter-refinery, which still remained the most important building, was no longer in the center of the site, but at its northwest corner. The new fortification system was of great strength. It consisted of two lines of defences (Figs. 2-3). There was a very strong inner wall, strengthened by regular offsets along its outer side. It was from seven and a half to nine feet thick (the latter measurement at the offsets), and was originally some twenty-five feet high. It was further strengthened by a strong glacis built against it, with corresponding offsets. About nine feet beyond the base of the glacis

[2] BULLETIN 75, pp. 17-18.

was another fortification wall, about three feet thick and ten feet high. It too seems to have been further strengthened by a glaçis built against it. It is probable that both this wall and the glaçis against it had offsets corresponding to those of the parallel inner wall and glaçis. Between the two walls ran a dry moat, the bottom of which was marked by a stamped clay and mud-brick floor. At the corners of the major wall were towers, which in each instance overlooked the slopes of its glaçis. The smaller outer wall is much less well preserved than the larger wall, but it seems probable that it too had similar towers, one at each corner.

Fig. 2. A section of the outer fortifications with an offset in the city wall and the glaçis which was built against it.

On the south side near the southwest corner is the monumental gateway, with three pairs of doors and two opposite sets of guard-rooms between them, which has previously been described.[3] The glaçis of each of the outer fortification walls is broken off before arriving at the gate, so it is impossible to say exactly what the connection between them and the gate was. This double walled fortification extended a considerable distance south and east, respectively, of the industrial square, built in the preceding period of Ezion-geber I. On the north side, and part of the west side, however, it cut through and in part was built over the line of rooms of this industrial square, with no attempt to make use of its rooms on these sides. The

[3] BULLETIN 75, pp. 13-14.

rooms of the industrial square on the other two sides were reused. The north half of the outermost glaçis on the west side was built against the outermost west wall of the industrial square. It is interesting to note that

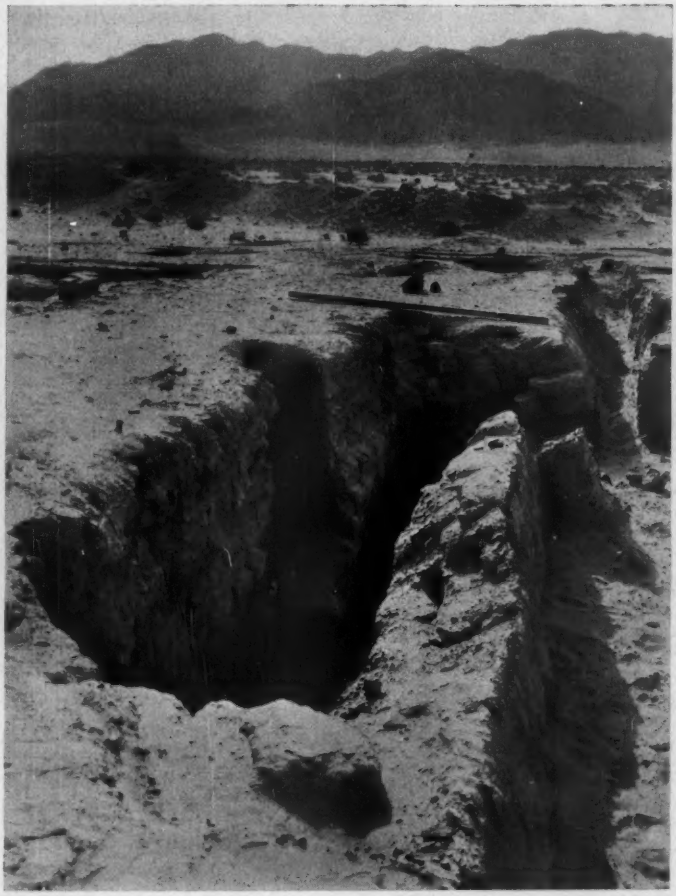

Fig. 3. An offset in the outer fortification wall with a section of the glaçis in front of it.

the scheme of double-walled outer defences with a dry moat between the walls [4] is known elsewhere in Transjordan. It is particularly clear there at the Early Iron Age site of Khirbet el-Medeiyineh overlooking the Wadi

[4] Cf. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, p. 372; Albright, *Annual* IV, p. 19; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 125. 137. 197. 258. 408. 620.

Themed.[5] It is difficult to understand why the builders of this complex fortification scheme in Ezion-geber II did not extend the outer walls beyond the north and west sides of the industrial square as they had on the south and east sides. Indeed, on the north side, the larger of the two fortification walls was built partly over the north side of the smelter, and over the glaçis built against the smelter on that side in the preceding period of Ezion-geber I.

If Ezion-geber I, or Period I, is to be assigned to the tenth and part of the ninth century B. C., and its most important phase to the time of king Solomon, then perhaps Ezion-geber II may be assigned to the ninth century B. C. More particularly, Period II may represent a reconstruction by Jehoshaphat of Judah, who reigned about 873-849 B. C. He was the one, it will be recalled, who made the abortive attempt to revive the sea-trade between Ezion-geber and Arabia, which had flourished during the reign of Solomon. We are told that Jehoshaphat had a new fleet of Tarshish ships built to sail to Ophir for gold. No sooner were they completed, however, than a gale blew them on the rocks several miles from Ezion-geber, where they foundered. The venture was thereupon abandoned. The very attempt, however, must have meant that Ezion-geber received a new lease of life. Its defences were restored and its industrial activities renewed with full intensity. Exports, such as ingots and objects of copper and iron must have been made ready for the ships to carry to Arabia in return for the products obtainable there. After the destruction of his fleet, Jehoshaphat may have relied upon camel caravans for transport.

It should be borne in mind that the entire fortified area of Ezion-geber comprises little more than an acre and a half. Yet it was enclosed by walls (each of which was further strengthened by a glaçis), of a height and thickness which would have done credit to an ancient town-site ten times the size of Ezion-geber. The total thickness of the larger of the two outer fortification walls plus its glaçis, taken at a point parallel with the base of the glaçis, is some fifteen feet. A type of bricks completely different from any used previously was employed in the construction of the new fortifications.

It is significant that the offsets of the new fortification walls and of each glaçis of Period II are parallel to the offsets of the outer wall of the industrial square of Period I. Furthermore, the bricks of the glaçis built against each of the fortification walls of Period II, were laid in the same diagonal, criss-cross fashion as the bricks in the glaçis built in Period I against the smelter-refinery. Were it not for the indubitable fact that part of this great fortification scheme of Period II in places cuts through, and in other places is built over part of the rooms of the industrial square and the north side of the smelter-refinery, with its glaçis of Period I, it would be possible to say that they are all to be assigned to the same period and to overlook the difference in types of bricks used in the various constructions. The close relationship in manner of construction between the later fortification walls and glaçis and the earlier ones, makes it seem probable that the Period II fortification scheme replaced a similar earlier one. The tradition of building and even details of the plan remained essentially the same—Solomonic

[5] *Annual* XIV, p. 13; Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 143, fig. 75.

in character. It is for this reason, therefore, in addition to others which cannot be detailed here, that we maintain that the original smelter-refinery and the industrial square beyond it, as well as its outer fortification system, which that of Period II seems to have imitated and replaced, belong to the time of Solomon. They were the direct result of his great program of public works, which dotted Palestine with buildings of all kinds.

A most interesting grave was found during the third campaign, sunk partly into the floor-level of the dry moat between the two outer fortification walls of Period II on the north side, a short distance removed from the smelter-refinery (Fig. 4). It may possibly be the grave of the man who

Fig. 4. A "mastabah" grave in Ezion-geber, looking southwest toward Sinai.

directed the construction of this elaborate system of fortifications, and who died perhaps shortly after the walls were completed. The top of the large, mud-brick, mastabah-like grave was covered by a layer of granite boulders, resting over a mud-brick roof. The grave had already been anciently disturbed, and whatever of intrinsic value it contained stolen, probably by some one familiar with its contents. An interesting amount of material still remained in the grave, however, when we opened it up. It was found to contain a large number of human, animal, and fish bones, most of which, unfortunately, had almost completely disintegrated. It soon became obvious that only one person had been buried there. Several fragments of the skull were recovered, as well as part of a lower jawbone, with several teeth still embedded in it. Careful sifting of the debris in the grave yielded 24 human teeth. With the dead person, probably a man, were found the remains of a camel. It may well have been his favorite *dhalûl*, his racing

camel. By the skull fragments were two three-handled jars, the only ones of the type recovered in the excavations. Inside one of them was a delicate little bowl, containing bones of a small bird, a small animal, and a fish (Fig. 5). The joints of the spine of a large fish could be seen in position. The last meal provided for the final journey of the buried man was a sumptuous one. A millstone, a mortar, and a fragment of a cosmetic palette were also found in the grave. This burial is the earliest one belonging to an historic period ever discovered in a controlled excavation in Transjordan. Trenches were run in all directions from this one grave in an attempt to discover others, but in vain. It seems safe to assume, however,

Fig. 5. A three-handled jar with a small bowl inside it from the "mastabah" grave.

that there could not have been many burials as comparatively elaborate as the grave in the dry moat. The bricks in the rectangular grave were of the same size as those in the fortification walls of Period II. The walls of the grave were quite thin, having the thickness only of the width of a brick. The rectangular grave measured about 12 by 5 feet.

Not only was it possible to trace the complete line of the fortifications of this period, but part of the very brickyard was discovered, from which the bricks were taken for the building of the fortification walls. It is to be remembered that in Period II, the site was still more on the order of a large caravanserai than of a settlement proper. With the exception of the smelter-refinery, and the south and east sides of the industrial square which had escaped being destroyed or built over, and were consequently reused in Period II, there was nothing else inside the enclosure formed by the fortifi-

cation walls. There remained a great courtyard, in which the trading caravans may have rested at night time. At the southeast corner of this great compound were left long rows of rectangular bricks, of exactly the same size as those used in the construction of the fortification walls of Period II. For the construction of these walls thousands upon thousands of sun-dried mud-bricks were necessary. The areas inside and outside the proposed lines of the fortification walls were transformed into huge brick-yards. Bricks were made, and then laid out to dry in symmetrical rows, with spaces between each row, and spaces between each brick, to enable the rays of the sun to get at each brick from all directions. First the bricks

Fig. 6. A part of the brickyard of Period II, over which were built walls of Period III.

were laid flat, and then placed on their sides. As soon as they had dried, they were brought to the brick-layers, who with great skill placed them in long and intricate rows of headers and stretchers till the walls of the desired thickness and height were obtained. When the new fortifications were finished, hundreds of bricks still remained in position in the southeast corner of the compound, where they had been placed to dry during the last stages of construction. In time, both before and after the settlement of Period II had been destroyed, they were covered with debris and sand, and were completely lost sight of, and forgotten. In the following Period III, new houses were built over the buried rows of bricks, which could have been used in the construction of these houses had their builders but known of their existence (Fig. 6).

The bricks of Tell el-Kheleifeh were, on the whole, exceedingly well made.

Good clay, obtainable directly on the site, was used. It was mixed with straw of a kind, perhaps palm tree fibers, which served as an excellent binding material. Usually, in addition, charcoal and fragments of shells and bones were mixed in with the clay. In ancient Egypt, it was correctly thought to be the height of hardship to be compelled to make bricks without being supplied with the necessary complement of straw. We read in Exodus 5, 10 ff.: "And on that day Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the people and their officers, saying, 'Ye shall no more give the people straw for themselves; nevertheless, ye shall still exact from them the same number of bricks as they previously made, nor shall ye reduce the number.'" An idea of the excellence of the ancient bricks found in Tell el-Kheleifeh can be obtained by comparing them with the modern, sun-dried bricks used in present day 'Aqabah. In April, 1940, a terrific rain- and hail-storm literally washed half of the mud-brick village away. Many of the mud-brick walls simply dissolved. A few days later, the natives began to make new mud-bricks, and dry them in the sun, preparatory to repairing the damage. Their bricks were made without any binding materials whatsoever, except lumps of dried mud from which the sand content had been more or less washed away by the rains. Small wonder that such bricks go to pieces during the first heavy rain! With some trepidation, we returned to the excavations after the rains were over, to see what damage had been done to the exposed ancient mud-brick walls of Tell el-Kheleifeh. We found upon our arrival that not only had they not suffered at all but that even the unattached bricks of the ancient brickyard had not suffered the slightest harm. It is not surprising, therefore, that the mud-brick walls of Ezion-geber: Elath, built more than twenty-five hundred years ago, have survived in some instances almost intact, while the mud-brick walls of modern 'Aqabah crumble and collapse not long after they are built.

The settlement of Period III was built partly over, and partly against the walls of Period II, and utilized the old line of fortification walls. The easiest way of distinguishing the settlement of Period III from that of Period II, at least in the southeast corner, is that its walls rest on the debris and sand covering the remaining lines of bricks of the brickyard of Period II. In several instances, the foundations of the walls of Period III encountered and cut through some of the bricks of Period II, which had been placed on their sides in the second stage of drying. The builders of Period III must have thought that these were isolated bricks. Had they dug down less than a foot, they would have found all of the old bricks, and would undoubtedly have utilized them in their new buildings. In addition to making use of the smelter-refinery, and the still existing rooms of the industrial square, the entire area of the rest of the site was filled with houses in Period III. For the first time in its history, the place assumed the semblance of a real village, and not merely a large, fortified, industrial plant. Essentially, however, it remained an industrial settlement, with obviously a large amount of industrial work carried on also in private houses.

If the settlement of Period I is to be assigned to the tenth-ninth centuries B. C., and that of Period II to the ninth century B. C., the settlement of Period III is to be assigned to the eighth century B. C., when it became known as Elath. It may have been constructed by Uzziah, who ruled from about 779 to 740 B. C. It is said of him in the Bible that he "(re)built

Elath and restored it to Judah."[6] It remained then in the hands of the Judaeans through the short reign of Jotham from about 740 to 736 B. C., until the time of Uzziah's grandson Ahaz. It was during his reign that in 735 B. C., taking advantage of the Syro-Ephraimitic war, the Edomites drove the Judaeans out of Elath and regained possession of it for themselves. It was apparently never again ruled by a Judaean king. Thus ended the two hundred year struggle between the Judaeans and the Edomites for the possession of Ezion-geber: Elath. For the Judaeans, it was not only the all important industrial site of their kingdom, but was most effectively the key of the gateway to Arabia by land and by sea. The orientation of Judah was always more to the south and southeast than to the west and north. Culturally, the desert days were always considered to represent the golden past by the prophets of Israel. Economically, Arabia always represented for the kingdom of Judah the golden present. For Edom, the roads to Arabia Felix were certainly no less important than for her neighbor to the west. With equal tenacity, she fought for the control of them, though only with occasional success until near the end of the eighth century B. C. Edom remained then, apparently, in possession of Elath to about the end of the sixth century B. C., after which it must have come under Persian control.

After the settlement of Period III had been destroyed by a terrific conflagration, a completely new industrial village was built over its ruins. This settlement of Period IV was Edomite. Its history can be divided into three clear sub-periods. The history of Period IV extended from about the end of the eighth century B. C. to about the end of the sixth century B. C. The new industrial village continued, like that of Period III, to use the system of fortifications that had been erected in Period II. Industrial operations continued on a fairly extensive scale. It is to the first phase of Period IV, which probably extended well down into the seventh century B. C., that we now assign the jars discovered in the previous season of excavations, stamped with a royal seal in ancient Hebrew-Edomite characters reading: "Belonging to QAUSANAL, the Servant of the King." It is thus now possible archaeologically to fix a date for the Qausanal seal impressions which harmonizes with the one proposed for them by Albright on the basis of epigraphy alone.[7] Qausanal is a typical Edomite name, the first part of which, QAUS, is the name of a well known Edomite and then Nabataean deity.[8] It seems likely that this Qausanal, who was probably an Edomite, was the officer commanding the district of Elath and was the representative ("servant") of the Edomite king of the time.

In a room belonging to Period III, was found a beautiful signet ring (Figs. 8-9). The seal itself, enclosed in a copper casing, had incised on it in retrograde, in the clearest possible ancient Hebrew characters, the following inscription: LYTM, "belonging to Jotham." Below the inscription is a beautifully carved, horned ram, which seems to be Syrian in style. In front of the ram seems to be the figure of a man. It cannot definitely be proven that the *YTM* of the seal is the very king of Judah, whose dominion

[6] *Annual* XV, p. 52, n. 143; BULLETIN 72, pp. 7-8.
[7] BULLETIN 71, p. 18; 72, p. 13, n. 45.
[8] BULLETIN 72, pp. 11-12.

Fig. 7. An eight-handled jar with a potter's mark.

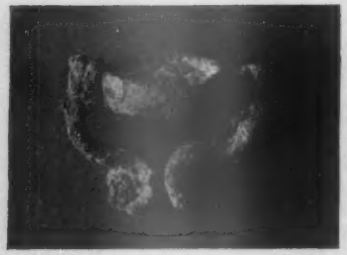

Fig. 8. Side view of the seal of Jotham (approximately life size).

Fig. 9. Impression of the seal of Jotham (enlarged three times).

included also Elath, but the likelihood is a strong one.[9] Even if this JOTHAM was merely the governor of Elath, he was apparently a Judaean. In all events, it is quite appropriate that during the period of Judaean control over Elath extending throughout the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, and the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, the Hebrew name of JOTHAM should be found, while during the Edomite rule of Period IV, the Edomite name of QAUSANAL should occur.

To a later phase of the Edomite settlement of Period IV belongs a small store-room near the southeast end of the mound. In it were four beautiful jars, three of them as intact, with the exception of a crack in one of them, as when they left the potter's wheel about twenty-five hundred years ago. One of the jars was partly broken. The mouth of this jar had been closed with a heavy stone stopper, and further sealed with a clay covering, over which a large, curved fragment of pottery had been placed. The heavy debris which had fallen on top of the jars, when Period IV was destroyed, had resulted in the cracking of the jar and the partial crushing of its top by the stone stopper. As a result, the obviously valuable contents of the jar had seeped out or evaporated. Another one of these storage jars was found to be full of resin, as sweet smelling today as it was two and a half millennia ago. When this jar had been removed from the ground and left for a while at a tilted angle in the sun, the resin began to melt and flow over the mouth of the jar. It is a matter of speculation for what purpose this store of resin may have been intended in Elath. Some of the resin may have been used, for instance, in the ship-building industry which flourished at Ezion-geber and its successor Elath. More of it was used, in all probability, in connection with the smelting and refining and metal manufacturing activities carried on so intensively there.

The settlements of Period IV were destroyed in turn, and a new indus-

[9] It appears to me that the identification is almost certain. The absence of the usual patronymic suggests that the owner of the seal was a very important person and this impression is amply confirmed by the beautiful execution of the seal itself. A date between cir. 750 and 650 is fixed both stratigraphically and epigraphically. High officials seem always to have given their titles or the general title "servant of the king." If the seal belonged to Jotham as crown-prince, we might expect the usual addition, often found in Jewish seals, "son of the king." If it belonged to him as regent or as king no addition would have been needed. We know from ample material that Near-Eastern rulers often had their seals made in numerous examples, to facilitate the execution of royal business, so the copper or bronze (instead of silver or gold) mounting need occasion no difficulty. The name is very instructive. We can hardly read it *Yôtām*, since this name would then have been pronounced *Yahutam*, *Yautam*, or the like, and would have been written YWTM. Nor is it probable that Nöldeke and Gray were correct in preferring to identify the name with Heb. *yātôm*, "orphan," though this appears as a personal name (YTWM) at Elephantine (on this question see Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 189 f. and n. 7). We have here an abbreviated name (hypocoristicon), either of the type "Ahaz" (Assyr. *Yauḥazi*, i. e., "Jehoahaz"), in which the divine name has been dropped, or of YWKN and YWQM, *Yaukîn* (Babyl. *Yaukinu*) and *Yauqîm*, for "Joiachin" and "Joiakim," respectively (cf. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1932, pp. 80 ff.). I am inclined to think that the biblical spelling YWTM reflects an original **Yahu-yatom* or **Yahu-yittom* (lit., "May Yahweh Finish"), which became *Yautōm* by haplography (exactly like a number of other biblical names) and *Yôtām* by further contraction and dissimilation (Greek **Iôtham*). Then the YTM of the seal stands for the abbreviated *Yatom* or *Yittom*, where the divine element is dropped.—W. F. A.

trial village was built, with its walls, for the most part, on lines entirely different from those of the previous ones. Not much of the settlement of Period V is left, but it had possibly two phases. Its history lasted from about the end of the sixth century or the first part of the fifth century B. C. down to the fourth century B. C. To this last settlement of Period V belong numerous sherds of Greek pottery transported from Athens to Gaza by ship and sent then by camel train to the north shore of the Red Sea, and reexported from there to Arabia. In these Greek jars were contained wines and other products shipped to Elath, and thence to Arabia, in return for the incense and spices and other wares obtainable there. Aramaic ostraca were found in this level during the previous season, belonging to the fifth-fourth centuries B. C., and thus in part contemporary with the Attic wares found with them. One of the ostraca was a wine receipt.[10] One important new ostracon was discovered this season. It consisted of a fragment of an eighth-seventh century cooking pot, with profiled rim and loop-handle. The ink inscription was on the inside surface of the sherd. It made a very convenient piece of writing material, because the scribe could grasp the handle of the fragment of pottery, while he dipped his brush into the vegetable ink and brushed on the letters, many of whose lines, unfortunately, are very faint. The inscription, however, is Aramaic, and contemporary with the ostraca previously discovered, despite the fact that the sherd itself belongs to an earlier age. The settlement of Period V was the last one to be built on the site. The next one was moved to Aila, near 'Aqabah, and owes its origin to the Nabataeans and its present repute to the Romans, who made it the end of the famous highway of Trajan.

In one of the houses which may be assigned to Period IV was found a pottery plaque representing the pregnant Mother-Goddess, the goddess of fertility. It was made with conspicuous crudeness, and is startlingly ugly. It must have been considered crude and ugly even when it was first fashioned. Why the potters of Ezion-geber: Elath chose to turn out figurines of deities in such ungracious forms, when at the same time some of the pottery they produced was of exquisite shape with beautiful decorations, is beyond comprehension. Was it the desire to reproduce something to which the crudity of the elemental was still attached? A figurine of equal ugliness, representing the same type of fertility goddess, was found in another room. With it was found a tiny cup, in which incense may have been burned. It is reasonable to believe that at Ezion-geber: Elath, on a junction of the great incense routes betweeen Arabia and Palestine and Syria, this commodity must have been comparatively cheap. The favor of the gods must have been sought in clouds of sweet smelling smoke. The piety of the people induced them also, when building a new house, to place some sort of a foundation offering under one of the walls. These offerings consisted at Elath of pots filled with fruits of the ground and fowl of the air and fish of the sea. In one instance a number of household utensils was carefully placed in a pot, and the wall was then built over this foundation offering.

All manner of copper and iron objects were discovered again in the excavations of the third season. They included copper fish-hooks, iron gaff-heads with barbed points, copper arrow-heads and spear-points, fibulae,

[10] BULLETIN 75, p. 21.

fragments of fine copper dishes and tools, iron hoes and knives. It seems likely that the coppersmiths of Ezion-geber: Elath, like their Egyptian contemporaries, possessed the secret of tempering copper to such a degree of hardness that it could be used for tools and drills. For both fine and coarse work, however, stone hammers and drills were also used, in addition to metal tools. Fine quartz pebbles were found, obviously brought in from elsewhere, which had evidently been used, to judge from their abraded ends, as hammers to shape fine metal jewelry. Other hard stones of varying sizes and coarseness were notched and grooved, so that a forked handle could be tied to them with thongs. Similar stone hammers were commonly

Fig. 10. On the left, a stand-lamp with seven spouts; on the right, a pottery censer with dentilated ornament.

used, for instance, by the American Indians. Stone drills were also found in the excavations, almost exactly like those found among the North American Indians. (Perhaps theorists who would equate the lost ten tribes with these Indians will now find further reason for the alleged relationship.) Egyptian stone dishes and alabastra, fascinating pottery incense stands and censers (Fig. 10), amethyst, agate, carnelian, quartz, and shell beads, and a fragment of a gold ear-ring were among some of the other small finds.

Much of the material found at Ezion-geber: Elath has a flavor all of its own, and some of it is distinctly unique. The horn- and ledge-handled, hand-made pots, many of them built up on straw mats, are without parallel elsewhere. Filled with ore, some of them were probably set inside furnaces or crucibles. They could then be drawn out by tongs fitted underneath their horn-handles, turned upside down, and the molten metal in them poured

out. A good quantity of the fine, painted, and burnished ware which has come to be known as typical of the Early Iron Age pottery of Edom and Moab, was recovered. A peculiar kind of pottery of excellent make was discovered, with bands of protruding dentilated ornamentation. In general, the impression obtained from the three seasons of excavations is that despite the long control exercised over Ezion-geber: Elath by the Judaeans, its population, pottery and general cultural patterns fit in more with the picture of Eastern Palestine, North Arabia and Sinai, than with Western Palestine. Edomites, Kenites, Kenizzites, and Arabs formed the bulk of the population, among which, however, were numbered Phoenicians, Egyptians, Judaeans, and in time, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks. The changes of government were probably accepted with the same calm and even indifference that the present inhabitants of 'Aqabah would evince, if tomorrow 'Aqabah fell into the possession of Ibn Saud of Arabia, instead of remaining part of the Emirate of Transjordan under Abdullah and the English.

ISHTAR IN THE NETHER WORLD ACCORDING TO A NEW SUMERIAN TEXT*

SAMUEL N. KRAMER

The myth currently known as "Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World" has come down to us in two versions, the Semitic and the Sumerian.[a] The

* We are very grateful to Dr. S. N. Kramer of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for contributing this important article. The first third of the article was prefixed later at the editor's request. Note that in this, more general, part of the paper *sh* corresponds to *š* in Sumero-Accadian names mentioned in the second, more tecnical, part.

[a] The text and translation of the Semitic version have been available to scholars and laymen for over half a century. The Sumerian version, on the other hand, has only recently been deciphered, although the tablets and fragments on which the myth is inscribed had been excavated by the University of Pennsylvania in Nippur some fifty years ago. As early as 1914, Stephen Langdon published copies of two fragments located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient of Istanbul. One was a small piece, but the other consisted of the upper half of a large four-column tablet. In 1919 Arno Poebel published three new fragments of the myth which he had uncovered in the University Museum at Philadelphia. Because of the fragmentary nature of all this material, however, and its poor state of preservation, the meaning of the contents remained obscure. In the course of the next decade, Edward Chiera succeeded in locating three new duplicates in the University Museum. More important still, he was fortunate enough to discover there the lower half of *the very same four-column tablet* whose upper half had been found and copied by Langdon in Istanbul. With the help of this new material uncovered by Chiera (his untimely death in 1933 prevented him from doing more than making copies of part of this material) I succeeded in reconstructing the text of the myth; the study consisting of the reconstructed text together with a translation and detailed commentary was published in 1937. Needless to say, there were numerous gaps and breaks in the text which made the translation and interpretation no easy matter, and the meaning of several of the more significant passages remained obscure. The following year I discovered two additional fragments in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient while engaged in copying part of its Sumerian "literary" collection from Nippur,

former is inscribed in the Accadian language on tablets dating from the first millennium B. C. Briefly sketched, the story runs as follows: Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, has set her heart to descend to the Nether World, the house of darkness whence there is no returning. There she would weep for "the young men who have left their wives," "the young women who have been torn from their husbands," "the young child who has been snatched away before his time." Upon her arrival at the gate "of the Land of No Return" she orders its keeper to open the doors under threat of breaking them down and bringing up the dead. After consulting his mistress Ereshkigal, the queen of the Nether World, he admits Ishtar, but as she passes each of the seven gates of the Nether World he removes a bit of her apparel. When the last gate had closed upon Ishtar, Ereshkigal ordered her messenger Namtar to bring forth against the naked goddess sixty diseases: diseases of the eyes, of the hands and feet, of the heart and head. It was then that Papsukkal, the messenger of the gods, fearing the extinction of all living things on the earth, since all sexual intercourse had ceased with Ishtar's entrance into the Nether World, hastened to Ea for succor. The latter fashioned the eunuch Aṣnamir who descended to the Nether World and by his actions induced Ereshkigal to decide to send Ishtar back to the earth. She ordered "the water of life" to be sprinkled upon her, and Ishtar, thus revived, reascended to the earth via the seven gates of the Nether World. As she passed each of the gates, the apparel which had been removed in the course of her descent was returned to her.

The Sumerian version of the myth is inscribed in the Sumerian language on tablets dated approximately 2000 B. C.; they precede by more than a millennium the tablets containing the Semitic version. The contents of the story, briefly outlined, are as follows: Inanna (the Sumerian goddess identified with the Semitic Ishtar) has forsaken heaven and earth and her seven most cherished temples in Sumer in order to descend to the Nether World. Having sought and obtained the appropriate divine decrees and instructions and having adorned herself with her queenly robes and jewels, she is ready to enter "the Land of No Return." Before doing so, however, she instructs her messenger Ninshubur to go to the temple Ekur in Nippur and plead with Enlil to see that no harm befalls his daughter. If Enlil refuses Ninshubur is to go to Ur and present the same plea before Nanna (the moon-god). If Nanna refuses he is to go to Eridu and repeat her plea before Enki (the Sumerian god identified with the Semitic Ea), and the latter, who "knows" "the food of life" and "the water of life," will surely save her from death. Inanna then descends to the Nether World and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the keeper who demands to know the reason for her intrusion. Inanna replies that Ereshkigal, her sister, had ordered her presence at the funeral rites of Gugalanna, the great bull of heaven, who had just been killed. On instructions from his mistress, the gatekeeper admits Inanna, but as she enters each of the seven gates of the Nether World, he has part of her apparel removed. After passing through the last gate, Inanna is seized and brought before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven judges of the

with the aid of a Guggenheim fellowship. Their publication in 1939 helped to restore one of the major lacunae in the text. And the new duplicate which furnishes the basis of the present study helps to fill another of the more serious gaps in the story.

Nether World. By their decree she is turned into a corpse and the dead body is hung from a stake. After three days and three nights had passed, Ninshubur, in accordance with his instructions, sets out to make the rounds of the gods. Enlil and Nanna deny his plea for saving Inanna from the Nether World, but Enki, grieved by what had happened, fashions two sexless creatures, the *kurgarrû* and the *galaturru*, and entrusts to them "the food of life" and "the water of life." They descend to the Nether World and revive Inanna by sprinkling upon her this life-giving food and water. She reascends to the earth accompanied by the dead and other ghastly creatures of the Nether World.

As a comparison of the two versions clearly shows, the Sumerian account differs radically from that developed by the Semites. Only in the most general outlines of the story do the two agree: The goddess descends to the Nether World, passes the seven gates at each of which one of her garments or ornaments is removed, is put to death at the command of Ereshkigal, is saved through the efforts of the wise Enki (the Semitic Ea) and reascends to the earth. But few of the details that go to fill in these skeleton lines of the myth are alike in the two versions. What is even more interesting is the palpable difference in style and tone. For the temper of the Sumerian version, like that of Sumerian literature as a whole, is calm, subdued, passive and unemotional; the incidents are recited impassively and repeated to the point of monotony. The Semitic version, on the other hand, glosses over many of the particulars, but expands with language that is characteristically passionate and intense those details which are rich in emotional possibilities. There is little doubt that the Sumerian version is the more original; the Semitic account developed from it in the course of the centuries as a result of modifications made by the Babylonians in accordance with their own temper and genius.

CBS 15212, a Nippur tablet located in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, contains sixty-two lines of text and corresponds to ll. 144-203 of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World."[1] As the following detailed analysis shows, it enables us to make quite a number of restorations and corrections in the text of the myth. Its primary importance, however, lies in the fact that it helps to restore the badly mutilated ll. 161-68, lines which from the point of view of comparative mythology and the study of comparative religion contain one of the more significant passages of the myth. As the reader will recollect, the passage ending

[1] Cf. *RA*, XXXIV, 93-134, and *RA*, XXXVI, 68-80. CBS 15212 will hereafter be referred to as Ga; cf. the list of duplicates in *RA*, XXXVI, 98. The tablet is one of a group of fifty copied by me during a recent six-months' sojourn in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, in the course of which, with the generous co-operation of Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, the director, and Professor Leon Legrain, the curator of its Babylonian Section, I made a careful study of the Sumerian "literary" material in its Nippur tablet collection. The investigation revealed that the latter contained approximately six hundred Sumerian literary pieces still uncopied and unpublished. Many are fragmentary but not a few are in excellent condition. Their contents run the entire gamut of Sumerian literature, and their value for the restoration of the Sumerian compositions is inestimable. It is therefore a source of grateful satisfaction to be in a position to state that a grant by the American Philosophical Society will enable me to continue, and, it is hoped, to complete, the copying of the entire group in the course of the coming two years.

with l. 160 describes Inanna's entrance into the Nether World through its seven gates. The passage beginning with l. 169 is concerned with the efforts of Ninšubur, her messenger, to save Inanna by arousing the gods in her behalf in accordance with directions given him [2] by his mistress before her departure to the Nether World. The eight lines between these two passages therefore contain the text describing Inanna's fate in the Nether World after the last of the seven gates had closed upon her. It is this passage, so badly mutilated in A that no intelligible reconstruction was possible at the time when my preceding studies of the myth were prepared, that our new duplicate restores in large part.

After Inanna had entered the seventh gate and her last garment had been removed, Ereškigal seated herself upon her throne and the seven Anunnaki, the judges of the Nether World, whose very look spelled death, sat before her in judgment. Thereupon Inanna was turned into a *corpse* and the body was hung from a *stake*. And it was not until three days and three nights had passed [3] that Ninšubur, her messenger, began making the rounds of the gods. Enlil and Nanna refused all help; it was Enki who finally contrived to bring about Inanna's resurrection.

The following is a detailed analysis of the restorations to the text of the myth made possible by our new duplicate:

Lines 144-60 (= *Ga, ll. 1-17*).—Ga, l. 4, reads [^{túg}*palà*^{4}*-a-*]^{túg}*palà-a-barra-*[*na lú ba-da-an-ṣi-ir*]; [5] it therefore corresponds to l. 157 of the myth.[6] L. 148, to judge from the spacing in Ga, l. 5, which corresponds to it, reads *ta-àm-me-a*; there is nothing missing between *-me-* and *-a*.[7] The exact meaning of the line remains uncertain, however, since the analysis of *-me-a*

[2] The conclusion that Ninšubur is a male deity is based on the fact that in the Rim-Sin Clay Cone A and Stone Tablet A, Ninšubur is described as *en* and *lugal*; that in the Cassite and later periods the Semitic adjectives, participles, etc. alongside of this deity's name are regularly masculine; that, according to *CT*, XXIV, Pl. 2, l. 52, Ninšubur is conceived as having a wife. Strangely enough, however, in the Rim-Sin clay cone from Ur (Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts*, I, No. 138) Ninšubur is described as *nin*, and in a hymnal text dating probably from the Hammurabi period, cf. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 125, ll. 1 and 2) *nin* and *ama* are used as descriptive terms for the deity. Moreover, Ninšubur is treated as a female deity in the extant texts from the Sumerian periods; cf. the proper name ^{d}*ninšubur-ama-mu* in the "economic" texts of the Urukagina and Ur III periods and the use of the epithet *nin* in the Gudea votive tablet, *BIN* (*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*), II, No. 12.

[3] Comparison with the Resurrection of Christ seems unavoidable. [The great importance of the three-day period in the religion of the pagan Near East was already well known, but this is the first absolutely certain text in which it occurs (for previous data cf. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 1924, pp. 96 ff., and Albright, *JAOS*, 39, 88 ff.). It is essential to remember that the three-day period is a *theologoumenon* and that the best historical tradition makes the period one day and two nights.—W. F. A.]

[4] In ll. 24, 111, and 157 *palà-* is to be substituted for *nam-nin-*.

[5] The translation "was removed" for *lú ba-da-an-ṣi-ir* (ll. 127, 132, 137, 142, 147, 152, 157, and 160*a*) is preferable to "someone removed"; similarly, *lú ba-da-an-lá* (l. 167) is best translated as "was hung" rather than as "someone hung." In other words, Sumerian may express our passive by means of *lú*, "man," and the active form of the verb.

[6] I. e., the order of the objects of apparel removed from Inanna varies in the duplicates.

[7] So also, therefore, ll. 128, 133, 138, 143, 148, 153, and 158.

Fig. 1. CBS 15212, obverse.

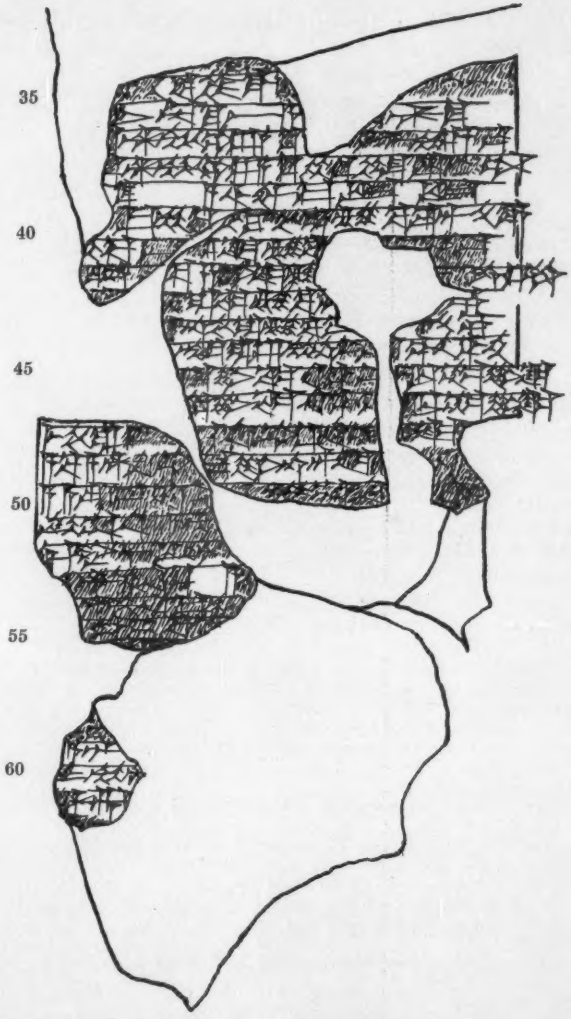

Fig. 2. CBS 15212, reverse.

is difficult. In l. 152, as Ga, l. 9, shows, the complex *-gaba-na* is to be inserted after *lú-gá-nu-gá-nu.*[8] Ga, l. 14, it is to be noted, corresponds to l. 132 [9] of the myth.[6]

Lines 160a [10]*-74* (= *Ga, ll. 18-33*).—This significant passage may now be restored as follows:

160*a*. . . . *-NI-?-? nun-?-ni-ta lú* [*ba-da-an-ṣi-ir*] [11]
. . . . from her . . . [*was removed*].
161. [*kug-*^{d}*ereš-k*]*i-gal-la-*[*k*]e_4[12] ^{giš}*gu-za-na i-ni-in-*[*tuš*]
The holy Ereškigal seated herself upon her throne,
162. ^{d}*a-nun-na-di-kud-imin-bi* [13] *igi-ni-šè di mu-un-*[*ši-in-kud*] [14]
The Anunnaki, the seven judge[s, *pronounced*] *judgment* before her.
163. *i-bí* [15] *mu-ši-in-bar i-bí* [15] *-úš-a-kam*
They fastened (their) eyes upon her, the eyes of death,
164. . . . . *-ne-ne* KA-LIPIŠ-*gig-ga-àm*
Their . . . . is the *word which tortures the spirit,*
165. . . . . *KA* . . . . *-tag-ga-àm* [16]
. . . . . .
166. [*munus*]*-tu-ra uzu-níg-sìg-šè ba-an-tu*
The sick [" *lady* "] was turned into a *corpse,*[17]
167. *uzu-níg-sìg-ga* [18] ^{giš}*kak-ta lú ba-da-an* [19] *-lá*
The *corpse* was hung from a *stake.*[20]
168. u_4*-eš-gi*$_6$*-eš-um-ta* [21]*-zal-la-ta*
After three days and three nights had passed,
169. *sukkal-a-ni-*^{d}*nin-šubur-ra-ke*$_4$
Her messenger, Ninšubur,
170. *sukkal-e-ne-èm* [22]*-šag*$_5$*-šag*$_5$*-ga-ni* [23]
Her messenger of favorable words,

[8] Cf. *RA*, XXXVI, 77, comment to l. 22 and n. 6, and p. 79, n. 5; A seems to insert a sign between GABA and NA. In B, obv., l. 21, the last two extant signs can now be restored as GABA and NA.

[9] In this line as well as in ll. 19 and 105 and in the note to l. 125, the sign DIŠ (between GI and NINDA) was erroneously omitted in the transliteration.

[10] For this numeration of the line cf. *RA* XXXVI, 79, comment to col. iii, l. 19, and n. 6.

[11] This line may describe the execution of the command given by Ereškigal to the gatekeeper in l. 119.

[12] The restoration of this complex is reasonably certain; the final *-ke*$_4$ is grammatically unjustified, however, since the verb is intransitive.

[13] Cf. the comment to *me-imin-bi* in *RA*, XXXIV, 118.

[14] In A, col. iii, l. 22, the signs IN and NE may be due to a misreading.

[15] So instead of the expected eme-KU *igi.*

[16] Line omitted in Ga.

[17] More literally perhaps: " into flesh that has been smitten."

[18] Ga omits *-ga.*

[19] Ga: *-an-da-* for *-da-an-.*

[20] The first part of l. 242 (cf. *RA*, XXXVI, 71) and l. x5 can therefore now be restored to *uzu-níg-sìg-sìš kak-ta-lá-a,* " Upon the *corpse* hung from a *stake.*"

[21] Ga: *àm-* for *um-ta-.*

[22] Ga: *-inim-.*

[23] Ga: *-mu* for *-ni*; scribal error.

171. *ra-gaba-e-ne-èm* [22]*-gi-en-gi-en* [24]*-na-ni* [25]
Her carrier of true words,

[24] So; the *-en-* was erroneously omitted in the transliteration. Ga omits *-en-*.
[25] Ga: *-mu* for *-ni*; scribal error. Between ll. 171 and 172 Ga inserts the following two lines:

[na]-ri-ga-ni šu-nu-bar-ri
Fails not her directions,
[inim]-dug$_4$*-ga-ni gú-zal la-ba-pàd*
Delays not her uttered [word]

Ll. x35 and x36 of the myth can therefore now be restored as follows:

na-ri-ga-mu šu [nu-mu]-un-bar-ri
[e-ne]-èm-[dug$_4$*]-ga-[mu] gú-zal [la-ba-pàd]*

The translation of *gú-zal—pàd* as "to delay" is a guess based on the context; *gú-zal* is probably the direct object of *pàd*, while *inim-dug*$_4$*-ga-ni* is related dimensionally to the latter, just as in the preceding line *šu* is the direct object of *bar*, to which *na-ri-ga-ni* is related dimensionally. If *gú-zal* is here to be equated with the Akkadian *guzallu, išḫappu* (so, not *gišḫappu*; cf. the Sumerian *lúaš-ḫab*), etc., a more literal translation of the line may perhaps read: "found no hinderer of her uttered word."

With the aid of these lines, moreover, we have the clue to the restoration and translation of several Sumerian passages which have hitherto remained unintelligible, thus:

1. Chiera, *SEM*, No. 49 (= Text B of our myth), rev., ll. 2 ff. (cf. *RA*, XXXIV, 100, n. 18), may now be restored to read:

[gá-n]u sukkal-zi-é-an-na-mu
[Com]e, my faithful messenger of Eanna,
[na] ga-e-ri na-ri-mu ḫ[é-díb]
I will [di]rect thee, [take] my directions,
inim ga-ra-ab-dug$_4$ *geštug. . . . ḫ[é]. . . .*
I will utter a word to thee . . . the ear.

2. Ll. 54-56 of U. 9364 (= *RA*, XXX, 127 ff.) introduce an address of Gilgameš to Enkidu, in which the latter is warned of the dangers involved in his contemplated descent to the nether world and of the appropriate precautions to be taken for avoiding them. These lines can now be restored to read:

tukum-bi u$_4$*-da kur-šè im-e-a-e*$_{11}$*-[dè]*
If now you will descend to the nether world,
inim ga-ra-dug$_4$ *inim-mu ḫé-díb*
I will utter a word to thee, take my word,
[n]a ga-e-ri na-[ri]-mu ḫé-díb
I will direct thee, take my directions.

The restoration of this passage, moreover, gives us the key to the basic meaning of the Akkadian *aširtu*, usually translated as "shrine." For the line *na ga-e-ri na-ri-mu ḫé-díb* in the Sumerian version corresponds to the line in Tablet XII of the Gilgamesh Epic which is numbered 13 in the Thompson edition and which reads: *a-na a-ši-ir-ti at-[ta]. . . .* There is little doubt, then, that the Akkadian *aširti* corresponds to the Sumerian *na-ri-mu* and that its meaning therefore is "my direction," "my guidance," etc. Cf. too the frequently used *ašrâti še'û*, which is best translated "to seek out the directions (of a deity)" rather than "the shrines." [This important discovery of Kramer is of considerable linguistic interest. The original form of the word was *waširtu(m)*, and the initial *w* still appears in archaizing Neo-Babylonian spelling. The stem *wšr* (parallel to the more common *yšr*) also appears in the archaizing Old-Babylonian causative *ušûšer*. Outside of Accadian we find the stem *wšr*, "to guide, direct," also in Egyptian *wšr*, "oar, rudder."—W. F. A.]

3. Gudea Cyl. A, col. vi, l. 14, the line which introduces Nanše's interpretation of Gudea's dream, can now be seen to read as follows:

na ga-ri na-ri-mu ḫé(!)-díb(!)
I will direct thee, take my directions.

Similarly, the compound *na-ri—gar* (Gudea Cyl. A, col. xii l. 2, and Cyl. B, col.

172. *an du_6-du_6-dam* [26] *mu-un-na-gá-gá*
Fills the heaven *with complaints* for her,[27]
173. *èš-gú-en-na mu-un-na-tuku-a* [28]
Cried out for her in the assembly shrine,
174. *é-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke$_4$ mu-un-na-nigin* [29]
Rushed about for her at the house of the gods,

Lines 175-86 (= *Ga, ll. 34-45*).—In l. 175 the first sign is probably I and the first word is therefore I-BÍ, the *eme-SAL* form of *igi*.[30] A re-examination of the original of A, whose surface is badly damaged at this point, reveals that the first complex in ll. 178 and 179 is *é-kur*, not *é-kur-ri*. In ll. 178, 179, and probably 180 Ga has the unjustified *eme-SAL* ^{d}*mullil* for ^{d}*enlil*. In l. 178 it should have been noted that A has a sign (an erasure?) between LÁ and SÈ. The reading *tu-tu-da-ni-ta* (last part of l.

iv, l. 2) has the meaning "to issue directions," not "to purify." The writings *ga-ri* and *ga-e-ri* both represent the grammatical *ga-(e-e-)ri*, where *-e-e-* is the the second person singular locative infix, the literal meaning of *na—ri* being "to . . . the . . . (upon someone)."

4. *PBS*, V, No. 1 (the "deluge" tablet), col. iv, ll. 4 and 5, are part of a speech addressed (by Enki?) to Ziusuddu. in which the latter is warned of the coming flood and is directed to build the ark. These two lines can now be restored thus:

iz-zi-da inim ga-ra-ab-dug$_4$ inim-[mu ḫé-díb]
At the wall I will utter a word to thee, [take my] word,
na-ri-ga-mu geštug-[zu ig ḫé-kíd]
To my directions [*open* thy] ear.

The translation "to my directions" assumes that the postposition *-šè* has been omitted. The writing *na-ri-ga-mu* for the more correct *na-ri-mu* (cf. also the restoration of ll. x35 and x36 above) probably developed by analogy with *na-ri-ga-ni*, where the *-ga-* represents the combination of the final *g* of the root with the *a* of *-ani*.

[26] So also A; the *-da* in *RA*, Vol. XXXVI, is a misreading.

[27] Cf. ll. 34 and x37, where the reading and translation are to be modified accordingly. This new translation seems to suit the context; it is reasonable to expect that Inanna's first instruction to Ninšubur was to set up a hue and cry in heaven because of the attack upon her in the nether world. That the compound du_6-du_6—*gar* is a synonym of *gù—gar* follows from the fact that for the line *kur-ra gù nam-mu-un-gá-gá*, "In the nether world do not make a sound" (U. 9364, l. 66), CBS 29. 16. 58, an unpublished Nippur tablet in the University Museum, has the variant *kur-ra du_6-du_6 nam-mu-un-gá-gá*. We now have the clue to the translation of the hitherto misunderstood line (Gudea, Cyl. A, col. VIII, l. 4 and Cyl. IV, l. 14) du_6-du_6 *mu-si-ig gù-gar mu-gi$_4$*, "He *silenced* the complaints, he turned back the complainers." The writing du_6-du_6 seems to be simply a variant for the more usual du_{11}-du_{11}, and is another of the numerous instances of phonetic rather than historical writing in the Gudea cylinders.

To return to l. 172, the difficulty in our case is that instead of the expected *an-na du_6-du_6 mu-un-na-gá-gá*, "lodges complaints in heaven for her," the text reads *an du_6-du_6-dam mu-un-na-gá-gá*. The translation assumes that *x-x-da—gar* is an idiomatic expression best rendered as "to fill with." It is to be noted that the same idiom seems to be represented in the expression *dul-dul-da—gar*, "to fill with ruins," "to make into ruins," De Genouillac, TRS, No. 40, ll. 209, 246, 318, 339, and 345; in this case, however, *dul* represents the Akkadian *tillu*.

[28] Cf. ll. 35 and x38, which are to be modified accordingly.

[29] Cf. ll. 36 and x39, which are to be modified accordingly. *Nigin* (i.e., LAGAB.LAGAB) is very probably the correct reading for the signs transliterated as PA.GIŠ. Note, moreover, that l. 36 has *-na-* (erroneously omitted in the transliteration) between *nigin-* and *-ma-ni-ib*.

[30] Cf. n. 15.

179) was restored with the help of ll. 41 and 50, although the traces in A, the only text preserved at this point, did not seem to justify the restoration. That this reading is correct for at least one version of the text of the myth is now proved by our new duplicate, which reads clearly *tu-tu-da-ni-ta*. A reexamination of the original of A, however, confirms the conclusion that A had a variant reading for this complex; even *-šè*, the final syllable of the immediately preceding complex, is doubtful. In l. 183 Ga omits *-ma-* after *-zadim-*; the verbal form in A ends in *-si-il-si-il* instead of the more correct *-si-il-li*. In l. 184 Ga has the variant *-e* for *-ri* (last sign). In l. 186 Ga adds an unjustified *-ke*$_4$ after ^{d}*nin-šubur-ra*.

Lines 187-90 [31] (= *Ga, ll. 46-49*).—Ga is of considerable help in the restoration of the text of this passage. The translation, however, still remains obscure and the exact reason for Enlil's (and Sin's) refusal to aid Inanna is still not clear.

187. *dumu-mu* [32] *an-*[*gal-la*] *al bí-in-dug*$_4$ *ki-gal-l*[*a*] *al bí-in-dug*$_4$
My daughter *has been warned* [33] *in* [*the great*] heaven, *has been warned* in the *kigallu*,

188. ^{d}*inanna an-*[*gal-la*] *al bí-in-dug*$_4$ *ki-gal-l*[*a*] *al bí-in-dug*$_4$
Inanna *has been warned in the great* heaven, *has been warned* in the *kigallu*.

189. *me-kur-ra me-al-me-al* [34] *ki-bi-šè sá bi-in-dug*$_4$ . . . .
The *rites* of the Nether World, the . . . . *rites*, she has arrived at *their* place . . . .

190. *a-ba-àm ki-bi-* . . . . *in-na-an-dug*$_4$ . . . .
Who, pray, ... their place . . . .

A HEBREW SEAL FROM THE REIGN OF AHAZ

CHARLES C. TORREY

The seal (Fig. 1) here described is a carnelian scarab belonging to Edward T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society, who purchased it from a dealer. The accompanying facsimile (Fig. 2) is magnified two diameters.

The inscription reads: לאשנא עבד אחז, "(Seal) of Asnā(?), Official of Ahaz."

The *'ebed* seals seem to have been always the property of royal officials of high rank; see the *Annual of the Am. Schools*, II and III, p. 104; also the fuller discussion of the subject, with references to the literature, by W. F. Albright in the article "The Seal of Eliakim," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 51 (1932), pp. 79 ff.; and the article "Two Hebrew Seals of

[31] Cf. also ll. 201-4, an exact repetition of this passage.
[32] For restoration of *dumu-mu* cf. Ga, l. 60, which corresponds to l. 201 of the myth.
[33] The rendering "warned" is merely a guess based on the context.
[34] Cf. *RA*, XXXVI, 80, comment to l. 15 and n. 3.

the *'Ebed Class*," by A. Bergman, in the same *Journal*, Vol. 55 (1936), pp. 221 ff.

In these seals the word "servant" is regularly followed either by המלך, "the king," or by the name of the king. The present example is from the

Fig. 1. Seal of "Servant" of Ahaz greatly enlarged (E. T. Newell Collection).

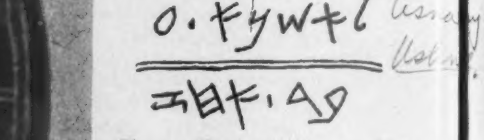

Fig. 2. The inscription on the seal of a "servant" of Ahaz (copied from an impression and enlarged two diameters).

court of Ahaz king of Judah (about 736-721 B. C.). The letters, gracefully made, have forms corresponding to their date. The Egyptian symbols are also skilfully carved, and the appearance of the whole is decidedly attractive.

The name of the officer is given in abbreviated form, apparently a typical hypocoristic ending in *-ā*. What the full name may have been, is a matter for mere guessing, for no Hebrew name is naturally suggested, and there are many possibilities. Perhaps the simplest guess is that the name is Assyrian, one of those beginning with the name of the god Ashur. If the initial letter of the second element were *n* (e. g. the type *Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē*, and there are many similar combinations) the Hebrew abbreviation before us would result. Ahaz is remembered chiefly as the king who brought in the Assyrians, became their vassal, adopted their cult and aped their ways. The presence of an Assyrian among his officers would therefore be quite natural. The long name would of course be abbreviated to fit the standard form of the Hebrew seal. On this supposition, the second letter, ש, in the name would have been pronounced as *sin*, since Assyrian *š* in Biblical Hebrew is reproduced by ס or שׂ (the two frequently confused). Other conjectures will doubtless be made.[1]

[1] While the name '*šn*' is undoubtedly new and is difficult to explain, Professor Torrey's Assyrian interpretation seems to me unlikely. In the first place, this official can hardly have been born after about 750 B. C. and can, accordingly, scarcely have been given an Assyrian name if he was a Jew. If he was an Assyrian his name

A NEW VOLUME OF NUZI TEXTS*

JULIUS LEWY

After an interval of five years caused by the untimely death of E. Chiera, the indefatigable excavator and editor of the Nuzi texts, the American Schools of Oriental Research have resumed the publication of the cuneiform tablets which he discovered at the foot of the mound of Yalghan Tepe -Nuzi. The new volume contains 114 texts (Nos. 560-673 of the tablets found in the so-called house of Teḫiptilla). With a few exceptions, they belong to the same classes of administrative and juridical documents as Nos. 1-559. They furnish, however, so many new details that they deserve the full attention of all scholars who are interested in the history of the Mitannian state and its dependencies. In fact, one text proves once more the correctness of H. Lewy's thesis that the archive which contained all these tablets was kept by officers who represented the king of Mitanni in the town of Nuzi. We refer to No. 612, a record concerning 50(?) war chariots under the command of a "captain of fifty" (*rab ḫanšā*); this tablet is sealed by Ḫutipapu, i.e., the *šākin māti*, or governor, Ḫutipapu, whom we know from Nos. 135 and 321 of the same collection of texts as one of the highest officers of the Mitannian empire. A comparison of the (unfortunately badly preserved) seal impressions on Nos. 612 and 135, both of which end with the words *aban Ḫu-ti-pa-pu* "seal of Ḫutipapu," seems to support this conclusion, since both impressions exhibit parts of a tree and of a pair of wings[1] and may well have been made with the same seal.

Among the first texts of the volume, there are a few documents (Nos. 560, 561, 562, 566, 567) which record several, in one case as many as fourteen, legal transactions of the same type on one tablet. These texts closely parallel No. 82, a previously published record of two adoptions of a very special type. No. 570, a "brotherhood document," contains a new clause (*iš-tu ūmi*^{mi}

would hardly have been abbreviated in an otherwise quite unparalleled way. Moreover, there is no clear case where an *Assyrian* (as distinguished from Babylonian) "*š*" is transcribed by a Hebrew *šin*, whereas there are scores where it appears in West Semitic as *samekh*. This phonetic relation is equally clear when West-Semitic names containing *šin* are transcribed into Assyrian. On the other hand there are several specifically Hebrew possibilities. I favor connecting the name with the verbal element in the names "Josiah," "Joash," and *Yā'ōš* (abbreviation of **Yaʾoš-yahu*, "Josiah") of the Lachish Letters (cf. BULLETIN, No. 70, pp. 12 f., n. 6), all from the stem *'wš*, "to give," familiar in Arabic and North Canaanite. The name may represent *Ūšnà'* for **Ûš-na-Yahu* (lit. "Give, pray, O Yahweh), like *Šubnà'* (Massoretic *Šebnà'*) for *Šûb-na-Yahu* (Massoretic *Šĕbanyáhū*), "Turn, pray, O Yahweh," the original form and sense of which are established by East-Canaanite names like *Šubna-ilu* (common between 2000 and 1600 B.C.), and the vocalization of which is approximately fixed by the Neo-Babylonian transliteration *Šu-bu-nu-ia-a-ma* (fifth century B.C.), reflecting a pronunciation something like *Šûbnyau*. (W. F.A.)

* E. R. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts* (*Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*). *Publications of the Baghdad School. Texts*: Volume VI, New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1939, pp. x + 105 plates.

[1] Lacheman's drawing of the seal on No. 612 is not exact.

a[*n-n*]*i*-[*i*] *ṣi-i-pa-ta eqli ù da-ba-bu ia-a-nu*) which recalls similar guarantee clauses of the Middle and Neo-Assyrian contracts. Nos. 577-595, 601-603, and 614 represent various types of administrative *mārūtu* documents with and without the *ilku* clause, whereas No. 600 records a genuine adoption. Nos. 606-609 furnish some new evidence in regard to the *titennūtu* transaction. Nos. 610, 611, and 613 belong to the "*ḫābiru* contracts" which I discussed in *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV (1939), pp. 587 ff.; like the interesting "brotherhood document" No. 604, they require a detailed analysis. Nos. 615 ff. record exchange agreements; two of them (Nos. 618 and 619), which might have proved interesting, are too badly broken to shed new light on this group of texts. Nos. 620, 622, 634, 636-638 furnish some important new facts in regard to Nuzian civil, particularly family law.[2] Nos. 650-664, 666-669, 671-673 are a remarkable collection of records of legal proceedings; two of them (Nos. 653; 673) were republished from previous volumes since Lacheman found "joins" supplementing and completing the hitherto fragmentary texts. No. 665, finally, is an interesting list of the retainers and feudal tenants, who, just as in two texts published by Gadd[3] and Contenau,[4] are classified as *ālik ilki, na-ak-ku-uš-šu*,[5] etc.

Lacheman's edition of these extremely valuable documents is far from being ideal. Instead of deciphering and autographing the texts and checking his copies by comparison with previously published cognate texts from Nuzi, he has relied on photographs on which he tried to trace the cuneiform signs as well as the seal impressions according to the method described in JAOS LV, pp. 429 ff. Anyone who has photographed cuneiform tablets knows, however, the shortcomings of such mechanical reproduction. In the first place, it deprives the editor of the advantage of turning the tablet in such a way that each sign can be examined in the best light and from every possible angle. In other words, it is often difficult to distinguish, on the photo, between one vertical wedge and two superposed vertical wedges. This disadvantage, of course, impairs Lacheman's copies, and its bad effects are particularly annoying in cases where only part of a sign is preserved. We refer, e. g., to No. 606, l. 13, where L. draws *2* instead of *a*, to No. 666, l. 29,, where he reads *at* instead of *šúm*, and to No. 671, l. 21, where he draws an indefinable sign instead of *a-na*; cf. also No. 583, l. 9, where the text has *a-na* instead of L.'s *1 la*.[6]

Similarly, the photo renders it more difficult to make sure whether a sign contains two parallel wedges or three which stand close together. It is therefore not surprising that the well-known personal name *Mi-ni-ir-ki* appears in L.'s copy of No. 560 (l. 66) as *Mi-ir-ir-ki* (cf. also No. 615, l. 25, where L. draws *Pa-i-ti*$_4$*-en-ir* instead of *Pa-i-ti*$_4$*-en-ni*), and that he mistook, in No. 621, the sign *gàr* at the end of l. 12 for *am*. Moreover, the photographic method, which works perfectly in reproducing papyri and similar flat objects, causes a considerable distortion—both in size and in shape—of the signs which are written on, or near, the strongly curved edges

[2] No. 638 supplements the previously published documents 440 and 113, the latter being a duplicate of No. 649.

[3] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXIII (1926), pp. 134 and 158, No. 63.

[4] *Ibidem*, XXVIII, pp. 30 and 37, No. 4.

[5] The military technical term, *na-ak-ku-uš-šu* (of which we do not know whether it belongs to Akkadian *nagāšu* and *nuguššû*) obviously recurs, as [*na*]-*ak-ku-uš-šu*, in the Akkadian letter from Boğazköy which was discussed by Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 51.

[6] These and the following corrections are confirmed by, or based upon, collations of the original tablets which, thanks to the kindness of Professor Poebel and his staff, were made by Dr. Hildegard Lewy in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

of cuneiform tablets. Necessarily, these shortcomings recur in L.'s copies, so that in some cases the reduced signs on the edges can hardly be identified without a magnifying glass. Even worse are those cases in which the signs are so much distorted that they cannot be identified at all. A typical example of such a distortion is the indefinable sign at the end of l. 1 of No. 630, which, as the original clearly shows, is *libnātimeš*. Of similar cases we quote No. 665, where the last word of l. 13 is the new Ḫurrian term *ki*(!)-*ka*$_4$(!)-*mu-nu*,[7] No. 653, where the last sign of l. 44 is *gur*(!), and No. 666, where the first sign of l. 6 is *TUR*(!).

Another serious inconvenience which makes L.'s copies sometimes almost entirely useless is due to the fact that they faithfully reproduce the disfigurations of broken tablets which are glued together in such a way that it is hard to determine which beginning of a line belongs to which end. Here it would, of course, have been the task of the copyist to eliminate in his drawings the secondary deformation of the tablet, all the more so since the photograph, on its part, adds another distortion of the lines caused by the bulge of the tablet. The worst case of this kind occurs in No. 567, where one of the fragments juts more than half a centimeter out of the original edge of the tablet. Instead of smoothing this out in his copy, L. makes it even worse by drawing, as the penultimate sign of l. 27, a *ma* instead of the second part of a *ša*.[8] In gluing No. 650, a fragment was so much shifted that the last two signs of l. 13 now stand more than a centimeter higher than the beginning of the line, a disfiguration which has been faithfully reproduced by L.[9] Similar shortcomings are found, e. g., in Nos. 614 (ll. 9-13), 615 (ll. 24-25), and 668 (ll. 37-38).

The most serious difficulty in the way of L.'s method of copying is due to the Nuzi scribes' habit of continuing the lines from the obverse over the right edge to the reverse. This compelled L. to piece most of his copies together from several strips of paper, and it has often happened that he has either dropped the end of a line entirely or that he has added it in the wrong place. Although the collations of Drs. Gelb and Purves (referred to in the preface) seem to have prevented some such mishaps,[10] many others remained. So, e. g., in No. 634, where *an-*⟨*ni-i*⟩ is to be added to l. 11,[11] and in No. 651, where the editor ought to have indicated, at the end of l. 3, the traces of signs which apparently belonged to the word *i-te-lu-ma*. In No. 586, in turn, the words *ina libbi*^{bi} [*ṣ*]*i-ri-ti*$_4$ *bu-ur-tù* (at the end of l. 9) actually stand at the end of l. 8; in No. 615, the signs *MEŠ.GAL* at the end of l. 6 belong at the end of l. 5.

L.'s method, the description of which in the preface might lead to the belief that it guarantees a particularly reliable reproduction of the originals, does not even prevent mistakes such as *3 awīlū AN* instead of *3 awīlū*^{meš} (No. 603, l. 28) and *ANŠU.ŠE.RA* instead of *ANŠU.KUR.RA* (No. 665, l. 8). It would furthermore be an error to suppose that at least the contours drawn by L. represent the actual contours of the tablets. Judging from his drawing, one must presume that, e. g., the lower edge of No. 587 is well preserved and measures 7.8 centimeters in width and 3.6 centimeters in height. Actually this edge consists of two small pieces each of which has a surface of about one square centimeter. However, not only the edge of this tablet,

[7] The ordinal(?) *ki-ka*$_4$*-mu-nu* is to *ši-na-mu-nu* (l. 10 of the same text; cf. also l. 19: *ši-na-mu-nu-ú*) as *ki-ka*$_4$*-ar-pu* "three(?) years old" is to *ši-na-ar-pu* "two years old." (For *kikarpu* and analogous derivations from numerals see Speiser, AASOR XVI, pp. 131 ff. and Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik*, p. 34.)

[8] According to a collation, the first four lines of the reverse of no. 567 read as follows: [27]*ṭup-pí* [*m*]*a-r*[*u*]-*t*[*i š*]*a Ú*-[*na-ap*-ta-e] [28]*mār Še-eš-w*[*i-n*]*a-*[*r*]*i* [*m*]*Te-*[*ḫi-ip*]*-til-la a-na ma-r*[*u-ti ītepuš*] [29]?(?) *i*$^{?}$*awe*$^{?}$*ḫari eq*[*la*] *i*[*ddin*] *ù Te-*[*ḫi*]*-ip-til-la a-na* [30]*Ú-na-ap-t*[a-e . . . . . *id*]*-di-*[*in*].

[9] According to a collation, line 13 reads as follows: [*ša*] *i-na* [*muḫḫi*] *kàr-ri awīlū*[*meš*] *mu-še-el-wu-ú mu-še-e*[*l*]*-wu-ú*; the second *mušelwū* seems to be a mistake for *ušelwū*.

[10] See, e. g., plates 549, 601, and 607, on each of which the end of a line is added at the bottom of the page.

[11] The sign *an* is clearly visible after *ūmi*^{mi}, whereas the signs *ni-i* are covered by the signs *i-na-an-*; this is due to the fact that the scribe inserted, in the empty space at the end of l. 14, the words *ana Ennamati inandin* which he had omitted in l. 17.

but all edges throughout the volume are out of proportion; to mention only one further example, the lower edge of No. 613 actually measures 6.5 centimeters in width and 1.5 centimeters in height, and consists of two pieces separated by a hole of about 0.75 centimeters. Nonetheless, L.'s drawing gives the impression that a full egg-shaped edge is preserved.

The preceding enumeration of corrections, which is by no means complete, shows that L.'s copies—both of the texts and of the seals— are in no way better or more reliable than those of his predecessors. His attempt to replace the usual deciphering and subsequent free-hand copying of the tablets by a mechanical and, incidentally, more expensive procedure, cannot be considered a success.

THE CITY KHALBI AND THE KHAPIRU PEOPLE

ALBRECHT GOETZE

J. W. Jack has recently communicated [1] a letter of Virolleaud's which gives some more details about the tablets from Ras Shamra-Ugarit in which the Ḫapirū are mentioned (see E. G. Kraeling, BULLETIN No. 77, p. 32).

The tablets in question are said to contain the names of towns and villages controlled by Ugarit, written in Akkadian as well as in Ugaritic. Consequently, a number of equations result, among which are the following four:

(1) *āl*[2] *Ḫal-bi ḪUR.SAG Ḫa-zi* = *ḫlb ṣpn*
(2) *āl Ḫal-bi rap-ši* = *ḫlb rpš*
(3) *āl Ḫal-bi GAR.RA* = *ḫlb krd*
(4) *āl Ḫal-bi LÚ.MEŠ SAG.GAZ* = *ḫlb 'prm*

The interpretation of the first three will be of bearing on the fourth equation. Some comments will therefore be welcome to the readers of the BULLETIN.

It may first be said that the city Ḫalbi is probably identical with the city the inhabitants of which are called *LÚ.MEŠ URU Ḫal-bi-ni*[3] in an Akkadian text (*Syria* X [1929], pl. 76, No. 1). The four entries under discussion seem to deal with various parts of the township known as *Ḫalbi*.

In the first equation the name of the mountain *Ḫaz(z)i* is mentioned and is apparently replaced by *Ṣapānu* in the Ugaritic version. The mountain

[1] *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 72 (1940), 97. Jack's own argument is vitiated by an apparent lack of first-hand knowledge of Akkadian writing. On the circumstances of the discovery see Schaeffer, *Syria*, XX, p. 296.

[2] I am using the construct state since the genitive *rapši* indicates (unless it is otherwise justified by the context) that *Ḫalbi* functions as a genitive. It is good Hurrian usage to make names of cities dependent on the word "city" (see von Brandenstein, *Orientalia*, 8 [1939], 85 f.).

[3] The additional *-ni* is a Hurrian suffix; it normally indicates the article of the singular (Thureau-Dangin, RA 36 [1939], 98 f.). It may well be that the *-ni* in our case is comparable to the article in names like *τὰ Κόμανα* or *le Caire, den Haag*. It is, however, also possible that it is analogous to the *-ni* in cases like Hurr. *Šimigi-ni-we*, genitive of *Šimigi* (cf. Friedrich, *Orientalia*, 9 [1940], 217).—The stem of *Ḫalbi* is probably identical with that of *Ḫalba* (Aleppo). Our increasing knowledge of Hurrian phonology (and the name has at least passed through a Hurrian medium) makes it imperative to assume a voiced stop also in this name (i.e., to transliterate *Ḫal-bá*).

Ḫazzi is well known from Boğazköy texts; there it appears [4] in lists of gods, usually coupled with the mountain Nanni. Its connection with Northern Syria and the Hurrians is guaranteed by the context in every instance. The (mountain) *Ṣapānu* of the Ugaritians has been identified [5] with the *mons Casius* of Graeco-Roman geography; this is a majestic mountain a little north of Ras Shamra-Ugarit which was considered by them as the residence of their gods, as shown by Eissfeldt. It seems that the name *Casius* derives from our *Ḫa(-az)-zi* which, of course, can be transliterated *Ḫa(-as)-si*. The question as to the meaning of the Hurrian word *ḫazzi/ḫassi* [6] cannot be answered as yet, but the equation under discussion seems to indicate that it should be connected in one way or another with the notion expressed by Semitic *ṣapānu*.

The juxtaposition of the two terms seems to mean "Ḫalbi on mount Ḫaz(z)i" and to refer to that part of the city which was situated on the slopes of the mountain.

The second equation must be understood in connection with the third one. The similarity between *GAR.RA* and *krd* [7] is merely coincidental. There is little doubt that *GAR.RA* must be taken as the Sumerian ideogram which corresponds to Akk. *uḫḫuzu*,[8] "encased, plated." It is true that this usage in speaking of cities—obviously in the sense of "walled, fortified"—is unique, but Ugar. *krd* bears out our interpretation. This word can hardly be separated from the *gurta-* (or *kurda-*) of certain Hittite sources which means "citadel" and is used in connection with cities in Hurrian territory.[9] The same, presumably Hurrian, word may be the basis for the name of the city *Kurda* of the Mari tablets [10] which reappears as *Gurta* in the treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza.[11] Thus, the third equation refers to the citadel of our city Ḫalbi.[12]

Hence, it is only natural to understand the adjective *rapšu* "vast, (at) large" of the second equation as pointing to the unfortified territory of the city. It remains strange that the Ugaritic version uses a word which is not known either in Ugaritic or Canaanite, the proper term being in both *rḥb*. One might even expect this root in Akkadian, since it occurs in the

[4] See Götze, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens*, 122; I particularly refer to KBo II, 18, obv. 20, and KUB XXVII, 1, I, 73 (Hurrian!).

[5] Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon* . . . (1932); Albright, BULLETIN, No. 49 (1933), p. 29. Cf. furthermore Obermann, JBL 55 (1936), 21 ff.

[6] KUB XVII, 38, I, 11. The more frequent *ḫaz(z)iz(z)i-* is probably related; time will show whether the rather daring views of von Brandenstein regarding this word (AfO 13 [1940], 58 ff.) can be verified.

[7] Virolleaud ventures the tentative translation "hero(?)." He apparently is thinking of Akk. *qarradu*; the *q* alone makes the comparison impossible.

[8] See the Amarna passages in Ebeling's glossary to Knudtzon's edition; furthermore KBo I, 3, obv. 32, and frequent occurrences in Hittite texts (see Deimel, Šum. Lex. 597, No. 265).

[9] Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, 248. The etymology proposed by Benveniste, BSL 33 (1932), 139 (cf. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, 3rd ed., 198) is doubtful. Cf. Albright, BULLETIN 63 (1936), p. 27, n. 9.

[10] *Syria* 19 (1938), 116; 20 (1939), 109; RA 35 (1938), 107 f.

[11] KBo I, 1, rev. 54.

[12] The interpretation of Ugar. *grdš* (I K 11, 23) as "citadel" by combination with Hitt. *gurta-* (Virolleaud, *Keret* 54; Albright, BULLETIN 63, p. 27) must, then, be abandoned. It may be pointed out that it is not even clear whether the Ugar. word may not be an epithet of *Krt*, the hero of the story.

well known *Uruk rēbetim* "Uruk of the width" of the Gilgameš epic,[13] where it is opposed to *Uruk supūrī* "Uruk of the enclosures" in a fashion comparable to the contrast between *Ḫalbi rapšu* and *Ḫalbi uḫḫuzu*.

To sum up, the first three of Virolleaud's equations apparently refer to certain parts of the city Ḫalbi. Hence, it may be concluded that the fourth entry, Ḫalbi of the Ḫapirū,[14] likewise denotes a part of it, i. e., the quarter where the Ḫapirū, a distinct class of the population, were living.

NOTES AND NEWS

Members and friends of the Schools have been kept in close touch with Professor Glueck's activities through the fascinating descriptions in his mimeographed News-Letters, five of which, containing over 15,000 words, have been circulated since our April number appeared. After leaving Jerusalem June 30 he crossed the desert by car, arriving at Basrah on the Persian Gulf July 3. The following day he sailed from Basrah and he reached Bombay July 17, sailing the very next day for America, via the Cape of Good Hope and Trinidad. A difficult voyage of nearly six weeks brought him to New York on August 24.

The Thayer Fellow, Dr. Harold W. Glidden, and his wife sailed from Haifa on the last steamer of the American Export Line to touch at a Palestinian port, carrying with them fifty-one cases of antiquities from Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, which Dr. Glueck had managed, by dint of superhuman efforts, to put on board. On July 12 the Gliddens landed at New York, together with their precious luggage.

Mrs. Charles S. Thayer (Mary Appleton Shute), a life-member and benefactor of the Schools, died at her home in Hartford, June 14, 1940. She was a graduate of Smith College and taught Greek there for four years, after which she pursued graduate study in Greek at Yale, Göttingen, and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. In 1904 she married Dr. Charles S. Thayer, librarian of Hartford Theological Seminary, and in 1913 they visited Palestine together, staying at the School in Jerusalem as guests of Director Warren J. Moulton and Mrs. Moulton (who was Mrs. Thayer's sister). During the past few years her interest in the work of the Schools had been greatly stimulated by Dr. Moulton's enthusiastic accounts, as well as by Director Glueck's news-letters. We shall hold her memory in grateful remembrance.

[13] Cf. *Akkad rēbetim* Cod. Ham. IV 52 and *re-bet māt* . . . KAV 92 obv. 33 ff. (cf. Albright, JAOS 45, 1925, 193 ff., 231).

[14] I take this opportunity to add to the well known occurrences in the Boğazköy texts the new passage KUB XXX, 34, IV, 30. It may also be remarked that Ungnad's surmise (ZA, NF 1. [1923], 5) that the *LÚ.MEŠ ḫa-pí-e-eš*, *ḫa-pí-ia-aš* (with variants) (KBo II, 12, II, 23 etc.; KUB II, 3, V, 34; VIII, 69, 6; X, 66, VI, 8; XII, 7, I, 9; XX, 90, IV, 6; XXVIII, 97, II, 4) may also be pertinent, has gained in probability by the demonstration that Hitt. *r* was a rather indistinct sound (Götze-Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*, 30 ff.).—The spelling *SAG.GAZ* confirms Landsberger's view that *SA.GAZ* is a pseudo-ideogram derived from Akk. *šaggašum*; cf. Deimel, *Šum. Lex.*, 115, No. 142.

NELSON GLUECK'S NEW BOOK

Readers of the BULLETIN have followed the progress of Nelson Glueck's explorations and excavations in Transjordan (Eastern Palestine) for more than seven years (since No. 49, February, 1933). During this time he has examined many hundreds of ancient sites, mostly unknown to his predecessors, and has carried on excavations of great importance at Tell el-Ḥammeh in the north, Khirbet et-Tannûr in Edom, and Tell el-Kheleifeh (Eziongeber) on the Gulf of 'Aqabah. Glueck has unquestionably done more to recover the lost archaeological past of Transjordan than any other scholar. While the nature of his work is naturally very different from that of Edward Robinson, it is just as significant in its field as Robinson's was in his. As Americans we may be proud of our two countrymen.

Our readers have often wished for a clear, comprehensive account of Glueck's work, freed from the technical detail and the mass of obscure place-names under which his reports in the BULLETIN and the *Annual* necessarily labor. In the present volume (*The Other Side of the Jordan*, xviii + 208 pages with 128 illustrations, $2.50) * their need has been entirely filled. In vivid language the author speaks from his wealth of experience, avoiding too much detail and treating each theme from such a wide perspective that the reader cannot fail to be interested and enlightened. The rich illustrations are a revelation in themselves.

SOME RECENT BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE EDITOR

For ten years students of ancient Palestine have eagerly awaited Alan Rowe's volume, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan* (Part I: *The Temples and Cult Objects*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940, pp. xiii + 101 and 71 plates, including several folding charts in color, price $15.00). During this time the manuscript lay unpublished, for lack of sufficient funds, in the University Museum in Philadelphia. As was to be expected from preliminary reports, this volume contains a wealth of valuable archaeological material, most of which is precisely dated according to strata. To obtain absolute dates one must shift Rowe's chronology downward from one to two centuries in each Late-Bronze stratum, as I have pointed out in the *Annual*, XVII, pp. 76 ff., with the approval of Rowe's successor as director of the work at Beth-shan, Mr. G. M. FitzGerald (*Pal. Explor. Quar.*, 1940, p. 81). This rather drastic reduction in dating does not affect the relative chronology. Under no conditions may it be construed as a reflection on Rowe's archaeological method, which was excellent. As I have observed elsewhere, "the evidence of scarabs and stelae . . . was strangely misleading." We are most grateful to the University Museum for publishing this valuable work and regret only that the price is so high.

The want of a comprehensive grammar and glossary of Ugaritic (North Canaanite) has been increasingly felt by students of the subject during the past few years. In the five years that have elapsed since the useful sketch by Montgomery and Harris (Philadelphia, 1935), this need has become acute. Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon of Smith College has now satisfied our requirements with his admirable book *Ugaritic Grammar: The Present Status of the Linguistic Study of the Semitic Alphabetic Texts*

* The book may be ordered from the publishers, The American Schools of Oriental Research, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, Conn., or from any bookseller.

from Ras Shamra (=*Analecta Orientalia*, Vol. 20, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1940, pp. viii + 130, quarto). Successive chapters on such subjects as orthography, phonetics, pronouns, numerals, nouns, verbs, the sentence and poetic structure, etc., provide ample documentation for Ugaritic grammar. I agree with nearly all Gordon's statements, in which he has generally followed the views of the eminent specialist, Dr. H. L. Ginsberg of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. This is not the place in which to discuss divergences between us; my point of view with regard to verbal problems will be stated in a forthcoming review of Harris's important work, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (Philadelphia, 1939), which will soon appear in *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* Gordon's glossary contains nearly a thousand words and proper names; it will be found invaluable by students of the subject. No less useful is his elaborate index of Ugaritic passages treated in the grammar, which contains no fewer than 1600 citations. In short, we owe an immense debt of gratitude to Gordon for his industry and discrimination; we also owe hearty thanks to Fr. Pohl of the Pontifical Biblical Institute for enlisting Gordon's collaboration at a time when most of his friends dissuaded him from undertaking so difficult a task in the present state of Ugaritic studies.

Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum has just published a valuable sketch of the chronological problems of the early second millennium B. C. in Western Asia (*Alalakh and Chronology*, London, Luzac, 1940, pp. iv + 52). By combining archaeological and documentary data he comes to a date about 1800 B. C. for Hammurabi and by enlisting the aid of Brigadier-General Sewell he arrives at a modification of the Fotheringham-Langdon astronomical chronology, according to which the date of Hammurabi may be fixed astronomically at 1792-1750 B. C. My own position is now substantially identical with Smith's; see my treatment of the subject in BULLETIN, No. 77, pp. 25 ff., 78, p. 23, n. 1. In my latest remarks, written before I had received Smith's brochure, I stated that a slight downward revision of my approximate date for Hammurabi, cir. 1800 B. C. appeared to be necessary; Smith's astronomically established date provides just this slight downward revision. For further details see my forthcoming review of Smith's study in *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*

In her useful monograph, *The Cylinder Seals of the Pontifical Biblical Institute* (=*Analecta Orientalia*, Vol. 21, Rome, 1940, pp. xii + 51 and 12 plates), Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren has published the material preserved in the Institute at Rome, all purchased by the late Fr. Fonck in Jerusalem a good many years ago. She publishes and describes 87 examples which are certainly or probably genuine, together with 23 which are certainly forgeries or are suspect. Not content with her own wide knowledge of the subject, she has secured the aid of Dr. Anton Moortgat of Berlin. Thus doubly fortified the student may rest assured that the author's judgment is seldom seriously at fault. The detailed study of the score of forgeries is extremely useful, since insufficient attention has been paid to the peculiarities of forged seal-cylinders.

Dr. Alexander Heidel's monograph, *The System of the Quadriliteral Verb in Akkadian* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *Assyriological Studies*, No. 13, 1940, pp. xvii + 141), is an exemplary linguistic study from the school of Arno Poebel. The Accadian material has been covered so thoroughly and so well that all previous discussions of quadriliterals are rendered antiquated. The comparative treatment is rather weak and the author is not acquainted with some very pertinent studies in the field of general Semitic morphology and etymology; cf. especially Albright, *Jew. Quar. Rev.*, XIII (1922-3), pp. 503 ff., and M. Cohen, *Mélanges Maspero*, I (1935), pp. 705-719.

A fundamental question of Hittite geography has been resolutely attacked by Professor Albrecht Goetze of Yale University in his monograph, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (=*Yale Oriental Series: Researches*, Vol. XXII, New Haven, 1940, pp. xi + 86, $2.50). The importance of the study will become evident when we remind the reader that the location of nearly every country in Asia Minor between 1800 and 1200 B. C. depends on our solution of the elusive problem of Kizzuwadna. Scholars have been almost equally divided between the alternatives of equating it with Pontus or with Cilicia. Since Goetze is one of the leading Hittite cuneiformists of the world, his treatment of the subject is extremely significant, whether we agree with him in detail or not. My own reaction will be given in a more suitable place; suffice it to say here that I have for some time identified

Kizzuwadna with Eastern Cappadocia, especially with the region known to the Assyrians as Tabal, northeast of Cilicia (with which Goetze identifies it).

Dr. E. Liebmann of New York (formerly in Palestine) has written a useful little handbook on *The Sea*, which has appeared as the first two numbers of the new Hebrew series entitled *Nature and Land* (*Hay-yam*, Tel-Aviv [1935], pp. 76 and 7 plates). Fully illustrated with diagrams and illustrations, the book not only gives a good general introduction to the subject, but it also describes the marine life of Palestine in considerable detail, illustrated by nearly a hundred original drawings by the author. We recommend it highly to students of Palestine.

Since there have been numerous requests for information about my forthcoming book, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, I take this opportunity to announce that the book is now in press and will probably appear in early November. It contains 370 octavo pages and the price will be $2.50; it is being published by The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., and may be procured through any bookseller.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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